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Historical Account
OF THE
HIGHLANDERS ;
DESCRIBING

Their Country, Division into
Clans, Manner of Living and
Fighting ; their Habit, Arms,
and Government under their
Lairds, &c.

Set forth in

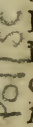
A View of the Rebellion in Scotland,
with some Enquiries,

What we have to fear from them ?

A N D,

*What is the properest Method to take
with them ?*

Dublin Re-printed in the Year, 1715



V I E W

Scot's Rebellion, &c.

As to Matters of Fact, and the History of their Proceedings in this Unnatural Case, I have nothing to do with it; our daily Papers will be careful enough to inform us of every thing as it passes: But my present Affair is to set right the Notions of our People on one Side as well as on the other; particularly, as to the Ability these *Highlanders have, or have not*, to give us Disturbance, and

and what we have to fear from them; and this I think, is an Information we very much want.

Nothing is more extravagantly remote, than the Accounts of this Matter are from Truth, and from one another; one Side magnifying, and the other Side undervaluing the *Highlanders*, and the Power they may be supposed to raise, to such a Degree, as equally tends to deceive and delude us; and both these, at a Time when nothing can be more fatal to this Nation, than to be deceiv'd one way or other.

Surely if the *Highlanders* in *Scotland* are in Arms; if they have declared for the *Pretender*; if they are preparing to march Southward; if there are six or seven Noblemen, and a great many Gentlemen engaged, and that they are extending their Quarters, taking Possession of the Sea Coasts, fortifying Towns, marching to their general Rendezvous, and forming their Troops for a War, as *all* our printed Accounts relate it, there must certainly be one of these two Things in it:

(1.) Either that they have a greater Strength among themselves than we imagine: Or,

(2.) They must have greater Expectations of Relief and Supply from Abroad than we imagine; they must have some Powers engaged with them, which they believe are able

ble to assist them, in a Manner which we do not yet learn ; and then it should follow, that they are to be look'd upon as a very formidable and terrible People.

On the other Hand, if, as some relate, our Army is already in a Condition to attack them ; if they are to be surrounded and fallen upon by the Lord *Sutherland* in the Counties of *Sutherland* and *Caithness*, and by Lord *Isla* from *Argyle-shire* and the Western *Highlands*, who will attack them in the Flank ; if the faithful *Highlanders* are superior to them, both in Number and Vigour, and able to fall upon them without the Assistance of the Regular Troops ; if the stopping a few Ships with Arms and Ammunition at *Havre de Grace* or *St. Maloes*, will effectually disable them, and render their being assisted from Abroad impracticable ; then we may be easy, look upon them as already subdu'd, and trouble ourselves no more at the Matter, the Men being only a few enrag'd Mad-men, ripe for Destruction.

It cannot be doubted but that both Sides run on extravagantly in their Accounts of these Things, and make the most of what they tell us, according to the Parts they take in the Quarrel ; and they think they do the Interest which they espouse great Service, by magnifying or detracting, as their Humour leads, and that it is of Use to talk High, whether they talk True or no:

But

But I cannot think these Men in the right on either Hand ; I think our Case is not so bad that we should be afraid to hear the worst that can be said with Truth, or so good that we should not think it required all the Assistance which Truth can give it.

Let us not flatter ourselves then, or fright ourselves, but let us endeavour to come to a right View of the Case, that we may from thence make a right Judgment : Any one may see the Design is laid very deep, the *Jacobites* have not been idle, neither has the Success of their secret Management been small ; and were there Success in the Publick Part of their appearing, to answer their Diligence, we should have more cause to dread them, than I hope we shall ever have here.

This appears in the great Numbers of Gentlemen who have been drawn into the Design, and which they say are severally embark'd. It is not for me to undertake to Name, as some do, the Numbers which in every Part of the Kingdom have been deluded to engage in this Rebellion. But were one twentieth Part true of what is boasted of, the Revolution was scarce a more general Revolt than this is threaten'd to be.

However, it is not Talk that will remove King GEORGE from the Throne ; he is not to be sung out of the Nation with a *Lille-burlero*, as King *James* was ; and therefore

fore to encourage ourselves in the just Defence of the King and Kingdom, let us enquire boldly into the Strength of the Enemy, and not be afraid to make the most of it.

The Insurrection is at present only in the *Highlands of Scotland*, it is indeed threatned in other Places, but there only they are yet actually in Arms, nor will I suppose here, that they will be able to make Head in any other Places; the Vigilance of the Government, and the Power that they have at hand to suppress them being considered, we have great Reason to hope they will not; and as it is not for any faithful Subject to say what Rebels may attempt, so neither is it fit we should intimidate or prepossess the Minds of the People with Apprehensions of Danger, when they are rather to be encourag'd to prevent than to expect it.

Let us then see in what State and Condition this Insurrection may be supposed to be, which is already begun; if any further Evils happen, it may be time enough to speak of them when we see them.

First, I find two Things are much the Enquiry of our People when they speak of this Matter.

- (1.) *What these Highlanders are?* And
- (2.) *What their Numbers may be?*

As to the Particulars of what Forces they have now together, how furnished with
Arms,

Arms, Money, Ammunition, &c. those Things relate to the present Conspiracy more in particular than to the general Enquiry; but I find our People at a great Loss to know the Circumstance upon which the rest is formed; they neither know who they are to Fight with, or what the manner of the War is like to be; and this Ignorance leads into many Errors; particularly, that *on one hand* they are apt to slight and Contemn them, as a weak and despicable People, not of Consequence enough to give us any Concern, not powerful enough to make any Disturbance, or worth our while to raise Troops against, but easily to be suppress'd by the Zeal of the Loyal People in *Scotland*, and by the ordinary Militia of the County; and this I think an Error which may be dangerous *one way*; or *on the other Hand*, they are so terrified and alarmed at these *Highlanders*, as if they were all Giants of the Sons of *Anak*, the most terrible Fellows in the World, so dreadful for their personal Valour, that no Men were able to match them, and so formidable for their Numbers, that all the Forces in the Nation were not sufficient to attack them, and that therefore nothing could now be done, without calling Foreign Forces over to our Assistance.

These Mistakes I desire to rectify, and am perswaded I shall by no Means offend the

the present Government, in setting the People to rights in this Matter, seeing the latter Mistake is of the two the most prejudicial, and the right representing these People, will certainly tend to the publick Advantage, in preventing a fatal Contempt of a dangerous Enemy, or a publick Encouragement to the Desertion of our People, if they think the Enemy likely to stand their Ground.

First then to the Question, *What these Highlanders are?* Take it in a few Words:

They are the Inhabitants of the *Norwest* Parts of *Scotland*, including the Midland Part also, from the Water of *Tay* to the Water of *Nesse*.

But as there are other *Highlanders* in *Scotland* besides those who I am now to speak of, I desire the Reader to observe, that by these *Highlanders*, I am to be understood, those who are now in Rebellion, for there are the *Western Highlands*, as well as the *North*, and these are generally those who are subject to the Family of the *Campbells*, of whom the Duke of *Argyle* is the Chief or Head, and to the Family of *Douglasse*, of whom the late Duke of *Queensbury*, was a collateral Branch, and the present Duke of *Douglasse* a Minor, is the Chief. These are not at all concern'd in this Rebellion, but are in many Parts of a quite differing Interest,

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rest, and rather enclin'd to the *Cameronian Presbyterians*, than to the *Jacobite Party*.

Adjoining to these, and indeed the beginning of the *North Highlanders* are the Family of *Broad-albin*; the Word describes the People, *Broad* signifying in the *Highland Tongue*, *greatest* or *most extended*; and *Albin* a *Mountain*, from whence also the most Mountainous Part of *Scotland* is called *Albany*, and *Broad-albin* signifies the highest Part of *Albany*, or of the Mountains.

These *Highlanders* we are told are in the Conspiracy, and that their Head, who is the Earl of *Broad-albin*, and of the Family of is one of the Peers of *Scotland* now in Rebellion; his Forces, meerly as Chief of the Name, are not esteemed to be above 1200 Men; but as some of his Neighbouring Clans are to be suppos'd to receive Encouragement from his Example, and to join their Servants and Vassals to his, they have reported that the *Broad-albin* Men are 4000, which tho' I must question the Truth of, yet I leave it to Time to discover.

From *Broad-albin*, North by *Loquahaber* and the *Isles*, (viz.) the *Western Sea-Coast* is all included in what we call the *Highlands* for about 100 Miles, even almost to the *North-west* Point of the *Isle of Britain*, intersected nevertheless in the inland Part by the County of *Ross Sutherland*, and at the Head extended North to *Strathnaver* and *Caithness*, of which

which Counties the Earl of *Sutherland*, whose eldest Son has the Style of Lord *Strathnaver*, the Lord *Ross*, and the famous Laird of *Grant*, are the Chiefs; the said Laird of *Grant* being also possess'd of some part of the *Highlands*, and these are all in the Interest of his Majesty King *George*, and if sufficiently supplied with Arms and Ammunition, &c. and encouraged by the Presence of their said Chiefs, these might be of great Use against the rebellious Part, and may assist to surround them, and divide their Forces when the King's Troops advance towards them from the *South*.

The Breadth of the *Highlands* is different, according to the Situation and Position of the Kingdom of *Scotland*; for the Sea bearing in upon the Land by several deep Bays and Firths or Inlets of the Island itself, in some places, may be esteemed not above 40 or 50 Miles over; yet from *Loquaber* and the *Irish* Sea, on the West-side to *Athol* and the Shire of *Angus* in the East, may all be esteemed the *Highlands*, and in some places is above 80 Miles over; and by this Account the whole Country called the *Highlands*, West as well as North, and including the Isles, may be esteemed the greatest Half of *Scotland*, of which Half two Thirds may, I believe, be accounted to the Rebellious Part of the *Highlands*, if Accounts be true.

On

On the other Hand, if it be true, which some of our Accounts inform us, that the Rebels have extended themselves East, over all the Shires of *Angus Mairn, Aberdeen,* the *Gowree* and to the *Firth of Cromarty,* from *Montross* to *Inverness,* and that having the Pass of *St. Johnstown* over the *Tay,* they are Masters of the Province of *Fife* : I say, should this be true, then we may allow them to possess one full half of *Scotland,* as to Extent of Land I mean, but not as to the Wealth, Plentifulness and Number of the Inhabitants; nor is there any Doubt, but that as soon as the King's Forces come to Action, and to advance upon them, but they will be soon obliged to quit the *Lowlands* of *Fife, Angus, &c.* and be confin'd to a narrower Compass.

But to proceed from the Country to the People : These Mountains are inhabited by certain people, who tho' called *Scots,* are more properly *Irish,* and who as they really have their Original, so they claim their Affinity to the *Irish,* by retaining the Habit and Language of the Ancient *Irish,* many of 'em for several Scores of Miles being able to speak or understand no other Language.

The Manners of these People are rude and barbarous, and tho' subject to the *British* Government, yet the Common people know no Laws or Government but the absolute Will of their Chief. They are divided

ded into *Clans* or *Families*, of which the eldest Branch always preserves the Authority, and is called their *Chief*, and by his Primogeniture demands such a Homage that all the colateral Lines or Branches of the Family are subject to him by a kind of Natural Law : Under these Chiefs are the several Gentlemen of the Name, who have again under them their Tenants and Vassals; the first are their absolute Slaves, and being scarce sensible of any other Law, or of any other *Government*, the Laird or Landlord commands them and their Substance on all Occasions, either for Civil Service or Military; and when they will not stir upon the King's Call, or the beating Drums for Volunteers, yet on the Call of the Laird, tho' but with a Whistle or a Sounding-Horn, they will come together arm'd in a Moment, ready for any Mischief that the Laird shall command them to do, whether to Kill, Burn, Rob, Ravish, or whatever else comes to hand.

It was earnestly wished that the Liberty of these People might have been obtained by the late *Union*; but that Treaty had so many other Enemies, and had such Difficulties in its bringing to pass, that had not the *Northern Nobility* been assured beforehand that their Patriarchial Tyranny should be reserv'd to them, they had never been brought to acquiesce in the proceedings in *Parliament*;

ment; and had they opposed it in the *Parliament*, tho' they had not taken Arms, yet it was evident the *Union* had never been brought to perfection; so that the Government were then obliged to drop the Design of giving these people the Liberty which their Neighbours enjoy, and to make it a *Part* of the *Treaty*, that all the Rights, Privileges and Superiority of the Gentry and Nobility should remain and be preserved as they were before, which if it had not been the present Rebellion could not have happened.

But to return to the *Highlanders*: As the Tenants are thus entire Slaves to their Landlords; so many of these Landlords are not Free-holders, but Copy-holders as they may be call'd, and in *Scotland* are term'd Vassals, which hold their Lands as our Copy-holders in former Days did in *England*, by Knight-Services, and other Services and Tenures, and these Free-Tenants or Feudatories are obliged by their Tenures to mount on Horseback, or otherwise attend with their Arms and Accoutrements when ever the Chief or Laird commands, as may evidently appear from the Earl of *Marr's* intercepted Letter to his Man *Fookey*, published in the *Gazette*, *Sept. 24. 1715.* wherein first he commands his own immediate Tenants to attend him as their Duty, and threatens Fire and Sword if they refuse, as that he has a just Right to punish them for
their

their Disobedience; and as for the Gentlemen, that is, his *Free-Tenants* or Copy-holders, he summons them with their best Accoutrements on Horseback, and no Excuse, no, not Loyalty to their King to be accepted of. Take the Words out of the aforesaid Letter as follows, viz.

I have sent you enclosed an Order for the Lordship of Kildrummy, which you are immediately to intimate to all my Vassals; if they give ready Obedience it will make some amends, if not, they may depend upon it I will be the first to send an Order to Treat them as Enemies; particularly, let my own Tenants of Kildrummy know, that if they come not forth with their best Arms, I will send a Party immediately to Burn what they shall miss taking from them; and you are to tell the Gentlemen, that I'll expect them in their best Accoutrements on Horseback, and no Excuse to be accepted of.

Mar.

There need no more than the Style of this Letter to give any one a true Idea of the State of the common people in the *Highlands* of Scotland, and with what absolute Authority the Laids and Chiefs can command their Servants and Vassals, altho' it were against their own undoubted Sovereign.

This Subjection naturally allows that those Chiefs have it more in their power
to

to disturb the Civil peace of the Kingdom, than it were to be wish'd any Subjects in so well ordered a Government as this is ought to be trusted with; and the present Rebellion is an unanswerable proof of it; for upon this Authority of the Chiefs and Lairds is founded the whole Expectation of the *Pretender*.

It was from this Reason that the late E. of *Godolphin*, when he acted as Prime Minister, thought fit to secure the Loyalty of some of the most powerful as well as most turbulent of these Chiefs, rather by fair Means, Promises, little Perferments, and some Money, than to give the Enemy room to pamper with them, and bring them over by the same Acts to Engagements prejudicial to the common Interest; and the Wisdom of this Management was so approv'd afterwards, that altho' practis'd by another Party, perhaps with differing Views, yet has receiv'd no Censure among the Mismanagements of the late Reign.

The Names of these Chiefs are not so material, being many and barbarous, such as the *Mackenzies*, *Mac-donalds*, *Mac-intoshes*, *Mac-gregors*, *Mac-phersons*, *Mac-leans*, the *Frazers*, the *Gordons*, the *Murrays*, the Lairds of *Glengary*, *Glenderule*, *Glencoe*, and many others.

Besides these, the chief of the Nobility who are interest'd in these *Highlands*, and
who

who themselves or their Sons are, as we hear, concerned in the present Insurrection, are the Duke of *Gordon*, whose eldest Son, the Marquis of *Huntley*, and the Duke of *Arbuthnot*, whose eldest Son, the Marquis of *Tullibardine*, are with the Rebels; the Earl *Mareschal*, the Earl of *Kincaid*, by his second Son Mr. *Hay*, the Earls of *Kilsyth*, *Broadalbin*, *Kinnure*, *Errol*, *South-Esk*, *Mareschal*, &c. the Lord *Drummond*, the Earl of *Marr*, who commands the rest, and several others of lesser Interest; and it is not to be doubted but all the Strength these Men can muster in the Field, shall be brought together upon this Occasion; besides the Inlisted Men which they may pick up in the rest of the Country, whether they extend themselves, and who, if they have Money to pay them, may be formed into Regular Troops, of which however I do not hear they have many; but of that when I speak of their Numbers.

It remains to give some Description of the *Highlanders* themselves; it is true, and the Manner of their Living in some measure requires it, that these *Highlanders* are more inur'd to Arms than the Inhabitants of any other part of *Scotland*, their Way of Living being to get their Subsistence in the Mountains by their Gun, shooting Wild-Fowl, Deer, &c. and by this Means they are not only all furnished with Arms; but

as they live sometimes in Enmity with one another, and decide their personal Breaches very often by the Sword, in which sometimes, from the Differences between 2 mean Persons, the whole Families are engaged, and they often come to pitch'd Battles, one *Clan* against another, so it occasions them to be more acquainted with their Arms, and with the Discipline of War, than other Men are; and it may be said of them, that they are the best undisciplin'd Soldiers that can be in the World; and tho' the way of our Fighting in the Field is of late much alter'd, and disciplin'd Troops are become much more terrible than ever before, yet it was found by Experience, at the Fight of *Gilly-Crankey*, that the raw and undisciplin'd *Highlanders* did, by the Fury of a desperate Charge, put the Regular Troops into Confusion, and beat them out of the Field: But of this I believe there is not much Danger now.

The *Highlander* is always arm'd, the meanest Man amongst them, even the *Dub-scalper*, a Name for those who run at the Horse-Foot of the Laird, is not without a Gun, a broad Sword, a Durk and a Target; and their Dexterity at using these Weapons, their Manner of Fighting with them, their Nimbleness of Foot, and their Courage, are Things which would require more Room to describe them, than can be spared in this small Tract. Their

Their **Habit** is hard to describe, and is altogether barbarous, yet adapted to the Advantage of their Bodies, and admirably suited to their Way of Living.

They wear Pumps for Shoes, so thin, as that they rather tread the Ground than the Shoe, and this is for their Convenience in Running; and by which, as has been observed of them, they have this Advantage in Fight, that if they are beaten, there is no overtaking them, and if they conquer, it is very hard to get away from them; but their Sense of this nimble Faculty has also some Inconveniencies, which is, (*viz.*) That if the Impetuosity of their first Charge is firmly received, and they cannot make an Impression with their first Shock, they think of trusting to their Feet sooner than other Men, and when they begin to run, very seldom look behind them, or rally again till they recover the top of the Hills, where they are sure not to be follow'd by the Horse; so that our Men have nothing to do but to receive the first Fury of their Charge and stand firm, and they may be sure the *Highlanders* seldom make a second; on the other Hand, the *Highlanders* being so swift of Foot, may serve the more to animate the Courage of our Men, since their Hopes must be in their Valour only, and they must resolve to trust to their Hands and not to their Heels in this War.

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The *Highlander* garters his Stockings below the Knees, and wears no Breeches in the coldest Season, but his Plaid which is belted about him, and his Trouze hanging from his Waist to the middle of the Thigh and something lower, serves him instead of Breeches, and hangs loose to his Thigh, open below, but plaited and full like the Vallens of a Bed, and not unlike the Skirts of the old *Roman* Habit, which always hung loose upon the Thigh, as may be seen by our Statues of Princes, which are dress'd like the *Roman* Emperors, such as that of King *Charles II.* in Marble on the Royal-Exchange, of King *James II.* in the Privy-Garden in Brass, and several others: By this Dress his Knee is naked for about two Hands Length above and below, and the Hamstrings being thus free from the Garters, they suppose themselves more nimble and easy; nor is the Cold which their other Parts are hereby exposed to any Grievance to them, but they bear it as readily as we do in our Faces or Hands, or other Parts daily exposed, which makes them very hardy.

They have besides this their *Plaid*, a loose Garment in the nature of a Robe, which they carry as it were on their Arm; it is thrown over their Shoulder, and tho' to our Imagination it seems to be very cumbersome, yet as they never go without it, they are so dexterous

dexterous in the casting it about them and handling it, that it is no hindrance to them at all, either in their running or handling their Weapons; on the contrary, they make it very serviceable in their Fighting, by covering one half of their Body with it, especially their left Arm, and Shoulders, in such a Manner as no Sword can cut thro' it, but that which it is more particularly serviceable to them for, is, that they lodge in it as in a House, or that they may be said to carry their Tents always about them; and when they come into the Field, they shall lodge more warm, wrapt up in their Plaid, than they think the other Soldiers can do in their Tents.

And thus I have given their Habit, their Weapons and Manner of Fighting, their full Advantage; I come next to the Men themselves, in which, however dreadful they have been represented, I must crave Leave to differ from common Fame, in several things relating to them, upon which the greatest Stress is laid at this time.

These Men are strong, large, made hardy and very rugged, rather desperate than bold, and rather furious than courageous; they have one Temper, which whatever it is in them, is in other Men inseparable from a Coward, (viz.) That they are merciless, barbarous and bloody, no generous Pity, no true Gallantry of Mind appears among them; but observe, that it is the meaner
Sort

Sort I am speaking of, for Gentlemen will be Gentlemen in all Nations of the World, but these wild Highland-men may well be stiled wild men, for they act the brutal Part to Perfection, being voracious, cruel, insolent and unmerciful in their Prosperity, and basely servile or sullen if they are subdued.

As they are wedded to their barbarous Customs, so are they to their Way of Fighting, and it is the hardest thing imaginable to bring them, I mean in their own Country, to alter their Method, or to fall into the new Discipline, or indeed to be perswaded that it is better than their own; this Infirmary of their Temper is as sure a Pledge of their being beaten, whenever they come into the Field, as can be desir'd, it being as impossible for them to break into a Line of our Men, (when they stand with their Bayonets on their Firelocks charged as Pikes) as it was in former Times for the Persian tumultuary Crowds to break in upon the Macedonian Phalanx, which stood as a Wall of Brass, and being formed like a Wedge, by advancing made gradually and necessarily its Way thro' the Bodies of their Enemies.

It is the same Case here, and I doubt not but our Officers will be thoroughly satisfied in this Part, that our manner of Fighting, close Embatteling, and presenting the Point of the Bayonet with the Musquet, is so naturally adapted to beat the Highlanders, and their open loose Order so naturally exposes them to be beaten, that nothing can be desir'd more.

Besides we are to take Notice that the Highlanders, hurried by the Impetuosity of their Tempers, are far from being the most observant of their Lines; and choose to Fight in their open Order, as it may be call'd, that they may have room to Swing about their heavy broad and unweildy Swords, which in our way of Fighting are of very little use, as shall appear presently.

Observing then the difference in the very Nature of a Sword, which all pretend to be called Swords-Men must know, the Highlanders can do nothing against our new Way of Fighting: The Reason is plain, they Fight with the Edge, we with the Point; the Edge is a Blow, but the Point is a Bullet, the one falls down and may be defended many ways, the other pushes on in a straight Line, and cannot by much be so easily defended; the Edge Wounds, but the Point Kills; a Man receives many Cuts and yet stands to his Work; but the first Thrust he receives is into his Vitals, and he drops immediately: The Strength of their Motion also differs, the Blow is made by the Arm only, the Thrust by the Weight and Strength of the whole Body; the Blow is by the Sword only, the Thrust is by the Sword at the end of a Musquet, strengthen'd by the Weight of the Piece; the Blow is by the single Hand, the Thrust by both Arms; the Blow is slow and must be preceded by lifting up and falling down, the Thrust is swift and speedy; the Blow cannot be redoubled or recovered without Time, the Thrust is recovered and redoubled in a Moment: In a Word, the Soldier
can

can make three Thrusts to one Blow. From all which I infer, that the antient Terror of these Highlanders is entirely vanish'd; and that unless the Earl of Mar who now leads this Rebellious and Barbarian Army can alter their way of Fighting, which he will find very difficult to do, our new Way has so much the advantage of them, that the King's Army will be able to Fight them, tho' they were three for one, and I refer my Opinion to the Event. Wherefore to encourage ourselves also, on a yet surer and stronger Foundation, I conclude this Part in the Word of the faithful Spies to the Children of Israel, when the wicked Spies terrified the People with the Multitude and Strength of their Enemies; Fear ye not the People of the Land for they are but Bread for us; their Shield is departed from them, and the Lord is with us, FEAR THEM NOT.

I come next to say a Word or two of their Numbers, and this must be spoken to, either as it relates to the Number of the people who are actually in Rebellion; or the real Number of the *Highlanders*, supposing what they are all able to bring into the Field, if they were fully to exert themselves, and were all of a Party; which, as is noted above, it is Evident they are not.

As to what the Number of those are who are now in actual Rebellion, we have many Reasons to believe they are nothing near so many as has been related; but of that I shall

shall speak by and by; but it seems necessary to say something of the Number of the *Highlanders* in General, supposing them to be all of a side, for if after that is done it should appear that the Numbers now in Rebellion are not proportioned to the whole Body above one to one, or perhaps as above one to two, we shall soon see Reason to alter our Thoughts, and to lay aside our Fears of this Insurrection, and learn to beat them by the Hands of their Neighbours, who can fight their own way, and are as able to match them as Heart can wish.

But as to their Number in general: This I find also so variously spoken of, that there is no making any rational Conjecture from the Reports of the People; for tho' we could rate the *Highlands* at a just Proportion to the rest of *Scotland*, yet as there is no manner of Comparison between the populousness of the Parts; so if the *Highlands* are one third part of the Country, yet I cannot allow that they contain a sixth Part of the Inhabitants of *Scotland*; and of them not a fourth Part can be supposed to be brought into any War of what kind soever.

I'll suppose then with the highest, that the Part of *Scotland* which is called the *Highlands*, is able to furnish 50000 Fighting Men; no Man who speaks of *Scotland* with any Understanding can suppose them

to be more, neither can there really be any Reason to call them so many; of those it cannot be doubted but the Loyal Nobility amount to a half; and if we shall suppose his Grace the Duke of *Athol* to retain his People in the Bounds of their Duty, it must be above half, the *Athol* Men being reckon'd at least at 5000.

The Dukes of *Argyle*, *Douglas* and *Montrose*, the Earl of *Sutherland*, the Lord *Ross*, and the Laird of *Grant*, and the other *Highland* Lairds who are Loyal, must be able to make up a Moyety of the rest.

This then is supposing the *Rebellious Highlanders* to be 25000; but then we must likewise suppose, that every Man and Mothers Child, as it is said, shall come into the Field, which is no more likely, than that the young *French* King should go into the Field.

So that upon the whole, if the Earl of *Mar* by the Influence of his Money, his other Arts, and by the Witchcraft of Rebellion, should spirit up 10 or 12000 *Highland* Men tumultuously to herd together and take Arms, it is as much as can be rationally expected.

And shall these terrifie a whole Nation? Shall our Stocks fall, and our Countenances look pale at such a sight as this? For shame, let *English* Men rouze up their 'Spirits and act more like themselves: Nay, tho' the
Re-

Rebels should have the Encouragements of some seeming Successes in the beginning, tho' they should extend their Quarters, take open and unguarded Towns, imprison naked and defenceless Magistrates, or defeat any small Parties of Men in their first setting out; what will this amount to, when the Strength of the whole Kingdom comes to attack them in a Body? when they come out of their lurking Holes and Mountains to fight in the open Field with a powerful, experienc'd and disciplin'd Army of *English* Soldiers? As the whole Power of *Scotland* could never defeat us in plain Field, sure a Body of Mountaneers, set on Fire with a mistaken Zeal, and the Sport of Rapine and Rebellion, cannot do it.

I know it is alledged by some, that the Poison is spread at home, that there are great Numbers in *England* disaffected to the Government, and resolv'd to take Arms, and that this is the Hope of the *Rebels* in *Scotland*, and the Ground of all their Encouragement. Now, tho' I shall not grant a Word of this to be true, because we have such good Ground to believe the Back of the *English* Conspiracy is broken, their Measures disconcerted, and so many of the Heads of it are Scattered or Imprisoned; yet as *England* has always been able to deal with her own Rebels, and to punish those who have attempted her Destruction, so I doubt
not

not she will again, if any such Attempts shall be made; and therefore laying no Stress upon that part of the Rebels Expectation, I shall confine my self to the particular Head where I began, and treat of *Scotland* only; for let *England* stand how it will, there will not, there must not fail to be sufficient Armies provided to Fight the *Scots* Rebels as often as they dare show their Faces, nay, tho' every Battle should not be a Victory; for as long as there runs any Protestant Blood in *English* Veins, there must not an Hour's Respite be given to a Rebellion of this Nature; nor is there any Reason to fear the *Highland* Rebellion shall ever bring us to that Extremity.

It remains then to enquire, what is the most proper Course to be taken for the immediate Reduction of this abominable Rebellion? that if their Confederates in *England* have any Views that way, they may be dealt with in Proportion to their Merit.

I am far from undertaking to direct those who have the Management of Affairs; but something may be offered in which this War differs from others, and which perhaps every one has not equal Experience of.

It is most certain, that the Country in which these Men are, and where they have rais'd their Rebellion, is Poor and Mountainous, Barren and Unhospitable; nor is it by any means able to maintain an
Army :

Army : If right Measures therefore are taken with these Men, they will be vanquish'd without Battle, and beaten without Fighting : It is true, that the Country does maintain the people when dispersed in Families and in Villages, thin and remote from one another ; but it must be allow'd, that there is a manifest Difference between the Supply of a thin scattered People, and the furnishing a Body of People collected into an Army, whose Provisions must be amass'd together, laid up in Magazines, and carried from place to place, where Necessity obliges them to March.

The main Step therefore would be to surround them so with Troops on all sides, that they should not be able to march out : That is, in short, to keep them at home, where they are, and straighten their Quarters gradually till they are reduced to their real *Highlands* ; and it is easie to prove, that in a little time they must separate, and by Consequence Fight at Disadvantage, or Starve ; let them choose which they please of the Three.

This Notion would indeed be very absurd and ridiculous, were it not easie to prove how practicable it is ; and in Order to this, the Scituation of the Country where they now are, is to be considered.

First, It is well known that as *Britain* in general is an Island, and on all sides sur-

rounded with the Sea, so the *North* Part of *Scotland* is a *Peninsula*, and is surrounded with Sea on every side except to the *South*; this *Southern* Part again is reduc'd to a very short Front by the two Great *Firths*, or Inlets of the Sea; the one call'd, *The Firth of Forth*, and the other, *The Firth of Clyde*; the first from the mean Ocean runs in as far as *Stirling*, with a Breadth of several Miles, sometimes more, sometimes less, to *Alloway* the Seat of my Lord *Mar*, within four Miles of *Stirling-Bridge*; and the other from the *Irish* Sea bears in to or near *Dunbarton-Castle*, and up to *Glasgow*, carrying likewise a great Breadth of Water.

From these two Rivers is not above 20 Miles in breadth, and here only an Army must be posted to keep these Wild People in. This is that famous Neck of Land where *Adrian* or *Severous*, the *Roman* Emperor, built that famous Wall of Earth to defend the flat Country from the Incursions of the *Picts*, the Remains of which are to be seen to this Day.

The Wisdom of the *Romans* seems to be our Guide at this time, their Business was to keep the barbarous *Picts* within their own Bounds, to wit, the black Hills and rugged Mountains of the *North*; and this they thought was a sufficient Conquest of them, and even so would it be still; for if they cannot pass this *Narrow Isthmus*, it is evi-

evident they can neither make War upon us, or subsist themselves; so that Encamping or even Cantoning a good strong Body of an Army at this Place, by which they may be kept in and restrained, so as that they could not break thro' without a Battle, would soon put an end to this Rebellion without much Blood; for it is plain, the *Highlanders* can neither keep in a Body nor get Shipping to Transport themselves over the two *Firths*.

The Season of the Year will not permit them to keep the Field with an Army during the Winter, they must either come to Action or disperse: As for coming to Action and Fighting a pitch'd Battle with an Army acting defensively only, it will be very probable, that if they will do it they may be obliged to do it with great disadvantage; such as attacking them intrench'd, passing a River in their Faces, or some such difficulty; which they, who are not the best disciplin'd Troops in the World, as it is; would be less fitted to undertake than other Armies might be. And thus they may come to our Hands at a cheaper Rate than ordinary; and if they do not venture thus to fight at a disadvantage, they must keep within the Limits aforesaid, till by the severity of the Season, the deep Snows and long Nights of almost 18 Hours, and intolerable Cold, they are obliged to retire.

And

And thus the War may cost less Blood than others may imagine.

Nor let any one mistake me, and think I am Talking so unsouldier-like as to suppose that in this Posture the Rebels shall be left free to range at Pleasure over the whole *North of Scotland*, and to Rob the King of so great a Part of his Dominions. No, no, nothing less is in the View by this Scheme of War; for as the Sea is at his Majesty's Command, and they lie open on every side to be Invaded, there can never want Opportunity to Land upon them in all the proper Places on the Sea-Coasts, and to break in upon them by Land, so, as soon to streighten their Quarters and gradually drive them to those Hills where they well know they cannot subsist at all.

To make this yet more evident, the Situation of *Scotland* will afford a Circumstance which perhaps few expect; for the *Northern Countries of Scotland* from two other *Peninsula's* or *Demy Islands* beyond this of the *Forth* and the *Clyde*. For Example, by the River *Tay*, the greatest River and the longest in *Scotland*, the Sea enters within the Country, on the *East* side from the *Readhead Point*, with a broad *Firth* as high as *St. Johnstown* or *Pertb*, being near 40 Miles: Opposite to this, on the *West* the *Irish Sea* breaks in from *Loquabar*, and the great *Loch Lomon* spreads it self so far, that together with the unpassable

ble Mountains of *Broad-albin*, there is not above 30 Miles of passable Ground to break through in that Part; and thus the Northern Part is again cut off, and all the *Highlands* South by *Tay* will be in his Majesty's Hands whenever it may be found convenient to advance over the River *Forth*, and drive them with a Power sufficient beyond the River *Tay*.

Nor is this all, but there is yet a third *Peninsula* farther *North*, much narrower than these; it is form'd by the Water of *Ness*, the Pass whereof is at *Inverness*, on the *East-side*, and the Water of *Loch* or *Lochy*, which bears far into the Land on the *West-side*, and which by a Line drawn from the *Loch* Head to the *Nesse* about 8 Miles, cuts off the most Northern Countries of *Caithness*, *Sutherland*, *Ross*, *Strathnaver*, &c. which Countries being fertile and populous, and the Inhabitants firm in his Majesty's Interest, that *Isthmus* being well guarded by a fortified Pass, and a Body of Troops to be sent by Sea, the Rebels will be then more streightned, and must in the End fall without fighting, or fight infinitely to their Disadvantage, and consequently to their Ruin.

If any Man thinks this Advice Unsoldierly, and putting too great a Weight on the present Rebellion, let him read the *History of the Low-Country Wars*, and the Conduct

duct of that great Soldier, the old Duke d'Alva, whose Maxim was, when the Prince of Orange brought several times great Armies of Hired Germans to support his Insurrections; the Duke chose always to act on the Defensive, protract the War, avoid Fighting, and by harrassing them and streightning their Quarters, to make them moulder away without Action, or fight to Disadvantage, by which Means he always overthrew them. The like Course did the Kings of France, or their Generals rather, take with the *Hugonets*, by which they were often forced to disband, either for want of Provisions or for want of Pay, and sending their Forces into distant Parts, were brought to Terms of Submission oftentimes without Blood.

These Things bring me to another Article, which will of itself reduce the Rebellion in Scotland without Fighting, if they are but kept from breaking out into the *Lowlands*, and this is want of Money; it is true that we are told they have Money, and that the Earl of Mar promises to pay them as Regular Troops; But how long will this Money last, and by what Means can they get Supplies, and from whom?

It is well known that even the Pretender himself, whose Fund is in the Zeal of a few Bigots, and who begs or borrows that little he gets, will be soon exhausted, if the War, as they call it,

it, be not brought to a Push; if it is spun out in Length, his Tether will be run out and his Supply fail; And how can the Earl of Mar and his Highlanders, tho' ever so desperate and resolute, carry on such an Undertaking without Money?

This makes it evident, that if this War is brought to a Length, the Rebels must fall an easy Prey into his Majesty's Hands, and that without Blood; Victory can never be said to be bought dear, when it costs no Blood. The Loss of Time can be of no fatal Consequences on our side, and nothing but the Loss of Time can so effectually ruin them; they have a desperate Game to play, we have a sure Game; they have no Hope but in making a bold Push for Victory before the King's Forces are collected, and so to enlarge themselves into the Lowlands, where they may get Money, Provisions and Arms, and be joined by more People; if they are conquered in this Attempt, if they are lock'd in between the Sea and their own Mountains, and left to fight with Hunger and Cold, cannot break out; they will starve in a few Months.

I know our Enemies will say that they are relieved by Sea, having much of the Coast to them, both on the East and West-side of the Island; but while our Men of War are at proper Stations, cruising upon those Shores, we know they have no Men of War to them, but must depend upon such Ships of Stealth and Chance escape to them, it will be very difficult to supply them by Sea.

Besides, What profit will it be to their foreign Friends, and what Encouragement to relieve and supply them barely with Food to subsist, when they are confined to a narrow stint of Land, and dare not set themselves at Liberty by the Sword? This will be just making them like the *Pretender's* Family to be fed or kept at Board-Wages, and we know, *good Man!* he is ill able to maintain the *Household* he has, he need not entertain any more, which less a Family as big as a little Nation, if they are not able to Fight for him, they are of no Use to him, and he will soon be weary of sending them Supplies.

To sum up all in few Words, It is plain, the Strength of this Rebellion is just now in its Prime, to fight them immediately, gives them a fair Cast, as we may call it, for their Cause, and who know it may happen. But to surround their Forces, and spin out the Time upon them, they will be undone of Course, and conquer'd without a Blow.